MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

The sides of the Yakut winter dwelling are occupied by wide wooden banks called *oron* (bank) or *oloχ* (seat). The northeastern corner (Fig. 19), where a door or an uncovered entrance leads to the cattle stalls and the other small corners, has no banks. The names of the banks and their uses are of considerable ethnographical interest. The entrance to the Yakut dwelling always faces east, the seat of benevolent deities. The bank directly to the left of the entrance has no name and is designed for household objects. Sometimes there is no bank at all at this point. On the plan illustrated (Fig. 19) Nos. 1 and 3 are called the right side of the dwelling, i.e., facing outward to the entrance. No. 1 is called *ataχ oron* (the first bank) or *āna suol oron* (the bank by the door). Its ancient name was *kōñūl oloχ* (the free seat). This seat is for unimportant, impoverished visitors, and serves as a sleeping place for male laborers. In the Kolyma District, during the marriage feast, the bridegroom sits in this place with his back to the banqueting guests.

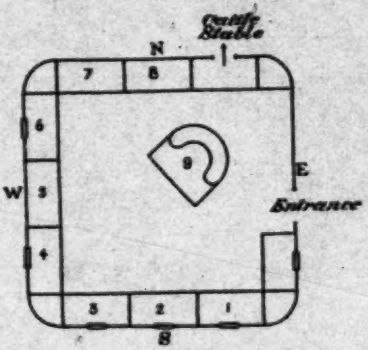

Fig. 19. Groundplan of a Yakut Hut, showing the Position of the Banks, Windows, and Entrance.

No. 2 is called *ortuku uña oron* (the right middle bank), *tūnnūχtaχ oron* (bank near the window), or *orto oloχ* (the middle seat). The last is the most ancient name. The designation for No. 2 is the same as for No. 1. When a son-in-law visits his bride in the house of her parents before the *kalym* (bride-price) has been paid, No. 2 is assigned to the couple as a sleeping place.

No. 3 is called *billirik*. It is regarded as the best, most comfortable, and warmest seat and sleeping place in the Yakut hut. Usually there is no window over this bank, although in the sketch a window is shown. The most honored guests or the shaman invited for a performance is seated there. During a wedding the parents of the bridegroom, relatives, and the matchmakers, and other members of the wedding party have this place. The *billirik* is also known under the following names: *tūspediyér oloχ, ulūtuyar oloχ*, or *tūs oloχ*.

No. 4 is called *bastyñ uña oron* (the right first bank). According to Sieroszevski this position carries less honor than the *billirik;* it is less

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

comfortable, has a window above it, and is within the range of the cold wind from the open entrance door. During a wedding it is occupied by the owners of the house and their nearest relatives; here also are seated honored guests when the *billirik* is already occupied. The *billirik* and the *bastyñ uña oron* form the "venerable corner." There a table stands, over which, under the ceiling, is a small carved and decorated shelf, called *holloruk*, on which are icons and images of saints painted on boards, to which wax candles, decorated with ribbons, beads, and other pendants, are affixed; or an embellished oil lamp is hung in front of the images. There on Sundays and holidays, headed by the hosts, the inmates and guests gather for prayer, so that this corner is transformed into a kind of chapel. During the prayers, the people stand in front or at the rear of the group, in accordance with their age and position in the community. They bow, cross themselves, hold lighted candles, and burn incense. In Fig. 20 may be seen a brass picture of saints fastened to a board surmounted by crosses. The ancient name of the *bastyñ uña oron* was *kōhūl olox*.

No. 5, the bank opposite the fireplace (No. 9) called *kātāharin*, is the family sleeping place above which there is no window.

No. 6, *kānčiārā olox*, is also called *xañas billirik* (left *billirik*) where adult girls (daughters and relatives) sit, work, and sleep. *Kānčiāra-jon* means young people in general.

No. 7 is called *xañas oron*. It serves as a sleeping place for female laborers or servants and grown children of both sexes. On this bank, hidden by a curtain, the bride sits during the three days' wedding festivities.

No. 8 is called *isit oron* (bank for cooking and other household vessels, from *isit*, kitchen ware).

Over Nos. 7 and 8 is usually a shelf called *dolbūr*.

All the banks beyond the *kātāhārīn* are regarded as belonging to the women of the dwelling. When facing the entrance, inside, the male half of the house is to the right and the female half to the left. The *kātāhārīn* (No. 5) or the family sleeping place and all the banks of the female half are supplied with calico (in former times, leather) curtains which are let down during the night.

From the Russians the Yakut adopted the use of tables and tabourets. Illustrations of models of such furniture may be seen in Fig. 21. The table is usually much lower than our tables and the tabouret is as high as the table. The table with refreshments on it is placed before guests sitting on the banks (*oron*) described above. The Yakut name for

[cf. p. 136, Category 116 -- ANALYST]

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

similar to that of the Yakut. A bow is illustrated in Fig. 59 and a hand and arm protector in Fig. 60.

Yakut warriors (*sāpi, sāpi kisila*) were usually mounted horsemen (*minjār*), but there were also foot soldiers (*satÿkisila*). Their weapons (*sāp*) consisted of a light bent bow (*sā*), a quiver (*kāsāx, sādax*), and arrows (*axa*)[1].

Social Position of the Yakut Blacksmith. The Yakut blacksmith (*ūs, timir ūsa, timirjit*) has the same rank as a shaman (see p. 107). According to one tradition the forefather of the Yakut, Elliei, was the first blacksmith. Another traditional blacksmith, named Chyky, was the teacher of warriors. He forged weapons for them and gave advice. Smithing and iron mining are inherited in certain clans. Some clans are composed of miners and iron founders, while others are smiths. The Yakut believe that blacksmiths are able to cure sick people by natural means and not through the assistance of spirits, as do shamans. They are regarded as clever, intelligent, and experienced. A blacksmith of the ninth generation is believed to possess some supernatural power. Such an individual has no fear of evil spirits and can forge the iron pendants for a shaman's garb without danger to himself. Spirits are generally afraid of the rattling of iron and the noise produced by the smith's bellows. It is of interest to note that there are no women blacksmiths, while, on the contrary, women shamans, called *udahan*, are believed to be more powerful than men shamans.

Among all Siberian natives the blacksmith ranks high. His vocation is not regarded as a trade which may be learned by any one but as a divine gift. He is protected by special spirits. Among many African tribes the blacksmith is represented among the officers of the court. In Shugnan and other places in Pamir, the blacksmith's art is regarded as a gift from the prophet David. He is more revered than the *mulla* (literate man who is able to read the Koran). His assistants as well as any onlookers must show respect to the master and his implements. The blacksmith must be clean spiritually and physically; he must avoid evil thoughts and deeds and must wash before beginning to work. The smithy is venerated as a place of worship and when there is no special building for prayers and social gatherings, the smithy takes its place. During communal feasts the anvil is treated with sour milk.[2]

[1] Arrows had names differing in accordance with their shape and material: thus, *kustuk*, a single pointed iron or bone arrow; *cyra*, a bifurcated arrow; *onohos*, a spear-like bone arrow; *mallar onohos*, an arrow with a rounded head of bone or wood, used for squirrel hunting that the skin may not be defaced.

[2] Sarubin, J., Légende du Sugnan sur le premier Forgeron (*Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'USSR*, Series 6, Vol. 20, Part 2, pp. 1165–1170, Leningrad, 1926, in Russian).

6: Sauer--117 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 342, 554, 574, 756, 796

"A summer hut is built of thin poles of a conical form, covered with the inner bark of birch, on some extensive meadow. It is ornamented inside and out with branches of the birch-tree, and a hearth is made in the centre. Relations and acquaintances are invited to the banquet; but all guests are welcome of every nation indiscriminately. The magicians take the head seats; others are seated according to the estimation of their seniority. (1)

1. Years do not secure the title of senior, (Oghonior,) which is the greatest term of respect that the Socha know. Magicians have it, and all such as are capable of advising the proper means to be adopted to secure success to such public and private concerns as are virtuous and good."

12. Galitzin -- 146 N-2 (no date) 1853 Yakut
116, 157, 261, 554, 609

"The Yacoutes are kind and officious: hospitality towards strangers is one of their virtues. At the same time they are suspicious, mistrustful, and timid. When occasion requires it, they are extremely sober, and a little sora, or sour butter, suffices for their nourishment; but as soon as necessity has ceased to compel them, they become such gluttons as to render it difficult to give an idea how far their gluttony goes. A Yacoute is capable of devouring an extraordinary quantity of meat, but cares little about its quality or its freshness. The entrails of the animals and the ox's hide are aliments which do not cause him any disgust. To eat a fresh ox-hide, they are satisfied with putting it for a little while under hot ashes in order to make the hair fall off. Fat in a liquid state is one of their most exquisite dainties: They feed upon it without measure. Among them the faculty of being able to eat much is considered as a kind of merit fit to draw upon them respect. It is not uncommon to hear them say, when they praise some one of their people, 'Outio`asatchi khisi!' namely, 'That man there eats well!'."

13: Sarytschew--13-14 N-3 (1785-90) 1806 Yakut
116, 554, 756, 782

"The shamans demand nothing for their trouble, but are contented with what is given them: they have, however, always the privilege of the first seat at the feast on the sacrifice, when they eat with a voracious appetite. For the evil spirit they set apart the head, legs, tail, and skin; which, when stretched upon a pole, are hung on a birch, or larch-tree, from whence they are never removed. [14]

The credit which the shamans enjoy with all these people, prevents them from being suspected of any deception; and the conceit of their holding an intercourse with evil spirits, confirms every one still more in the opinion, that whatever happens through the shaman is effected in a supernatural way by the aid of devils. This prejudice of course affords them an opportunity of imposing several tales and absurdities upon the superstitious ignorance of the multitude; such as pretending to have the power of knowing the past, present, and future; of commanding the winds and storms; of producing fine or bad weather; of finding things that are lost; of healing the sick, affording good sport to the hunter, &c and all which they never neglect to turn to their own advantage."

14: Krauss--166 [2] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 554

Because of the lack of trained physicians the Yakut had to have recourse to the shamans' aid whenever a case of disease occurred in his family or among the cattle; and they did so, according to their old custom, even after they had given up their ancient creed. As healing ensued in some cases, faith in the magic power of the shamans continued and prevented the latter from losing all their authority.

14: Krauss--166 [3] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 554, 756, 771, 821

In view of the permanent uncertainty of his supplies, the Yakut is necessarily always occupied with the question whether the impending hunt or draught will be sufficient to provide food for himself and his family. The shaman will offer his services to answer this question. How could those little-civilized people who have a strong tendency towards miracle religion, renounce it to take their own profit from it? Especially, when frightful and inconceivable phenomena such as snow storms or the north-light confuse them and keep them in constant fear.

Permanent remoteness from other people makes the Yakut reflective. He is always alone with his ideas; so it is only natural that his mental activity is great, his imagination vivid. He longs for the mysterious, for mysticism. This is where the shamans find their field of activity.

Thus, the shaman is approached on the ground of his quality as a physician, fortune-teller, and mediator of secret knowledge; not at all, however, because he is a sacrificial priest or a theologian. The shaman himself endeavors to meet these needs, which make his presence among the population indispensable; and that is why he loses his former character as a priest.

14: Krauss--173 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 787, 554, 782

As soon as one finds himself at a loss to help himself by shamanic magic, one approaches a shaman in the hope to reach the desired healing from the demons by the shaman's mediation. A patient may travel hundreds of versts to find a shaman, and as soon as a shaman arrives somewhere, news of his arrival will quickly spread over the entire neighborhood. Curious people, and those who hope to be relieved from their ailments will crowd together at the spot to see the shaman and to inquire of him about the future. The shamans will never refuse to reply, but will assert that they possess the gift of prophecy, especially during the mystery ceremonies.

The shaman is treated with high respect; he gets a seat in the 'honor corner'. He is entertained with liquor and exquisite meals, before they tell him what their wishes are. The shaman will not hesitate to demand that a bull or horse be killed, in view of the importance of the request and the spirit to be called upon. His demand is met without opposition by the Yakuts, and they usually offer the meat not only to the shaman, but also to all those present. A certain part of the animal is destined for sacrifice, according to the shaman's doctrine.

15: Popov -- 257- 258 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut -1 -2
116, 326, 539, 554, 756, 774

" The blacksmith and the shaman are from the same nest, ' says the Yakut proverb(2)

2. Sieroshevsky, V. L., The Yakuts, St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 631.

The blacksmith has even the greater supernatural powers. 'The first blacksmith, the first shaman, and the first potter were blood brothers. The blacksmith was the oldest, and the shaman the middle. ' Therefore the shaman being younger cannot cause the death of the blacksmith. In every attempt of the shaman 'to eat the blacksmith', the tools of the latter, his tongs, his hammer, and the anvil are transformed into winged creatures, which, flying around, strike and pinch the shaman. When the shaman wishes to thrash the soul (3) of the blacksmith, this soul hides in the kuolgan (the iron plate with seven

3. According to Yastremsky, the Yakut believe that the soul, kut, consists of three elements: buor-kut (earth-soul), iya kut (mother soul), anya kut (father soul). After death the soul undergoes transformations, and the souls of the famous shamans can be transformed seven times. According to Baishev, bour kut remains after the death with the corpse in the grave; salgin kut is transformed into a wandering spirit, yor, and sur kut after death is reincarnated. (Tr.)

or nine holes of different diameters for punching holes in [258] the metals), where the shaman cannot reach him.(1)

1. Kulakovsky, A. E., Materials for the Study of the Beliefs of the Yakuts, Yakutsk, 1923, pp. 67-68.

Moreover small models of the blacksmith's paraphernalia serve as amulets to the shaman." (2)

2. Potanin, G. N., Thunder in the Beliefs and Folklore of the Tribes of Southern Siberia and Northern Mongolia. Journal of Department of Education, January 1882, p. 159.

16: Great Britain Admiralty -- 168 [3] G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 554, 764

"When an important man is buried his best horse is killed and eaten, and the head and hide in one piece are set up as a memorial. In the case of a woman a cow takes the place of a horse."

19: Kharuzin --40-41 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 554, 585, 614, 627, 796

The oldest kinsman in the clan, or the īye-ūsa, is always heaped with honors, if he is both rich and has never been put on trial. To him pertains the jurisdiction in trifling quarrels between kinsfolk. The following ceremonies serve to recall the religious functions that he (Ysekh) formerly exercised a. At the time of the spring festival, which bears a strictly clan character, they bring to him, first of all, a large wooden vessel (Choron) containing kumiss; he pronounces a prayer of thanks to the gods and then pours the kumiss upon the fire. b. At the time of the arrival of the betrothed at the bridegroom's yurt, they take from the sleigh of the betrothed, and place upon a table in front of the fire place the boiled head of a horse, whose eyes are covered with butter, to whose ears are attached intestines filled with horse's blood, and a wooden cup filled with butter. After this the betrothed enters the yurt, and stands, having first untied her girdle, on the right side of the komelok [RCH: i. e., the fireplace] where she is met by the oldest kinsman, whose place is sometimes taken nowadays by the most honored guest, who, kneeling, throws into the fire [41] pieces of meat, blood and butter, and blesses the bride. For the completion of this ceremony, whose obvious object is to unite the bride with the bridegroom's home, the oldest kinsman secures for his use the head, blood and butter brought into the yurt, and in addition the sum of one ruble.

T /126 cont./

122 from the bank. From our camp, which was pitched in the
V vicinity, we sent Ssemjón to reconnoiter, and he came back in
[439] the night with two Tungus, who, like the old Jakute, were known to him from before. "I rarely see them," he said laconically. In view of the way of life on both sides that is probably very understandable. Soon it appeared that they had previously had a business connection with regard to a mammoth tusk and, it appeared, not to Ssemjón's advantage. They did not make a good impression in general, and, after buying a reindeer calf, we parted from them as quickly as possible. The people were from Lake Dshesse, but belonged to the Syrungna Tungus.

V On August 11 when we stopped at midday Ssemjón said
122 that we were no longer very far from the Ssiligír, below the
123 mouth of which, on the small river Ssénjka emptying into the Olenék from the left side, Jakuten /Yakut/ were said to be settled. We had at first intended to go directly down to this river, but now learned that the settlement was three days of travel from the Ssénjka mouth, although from here, because of the previously mentioned great bends of the Olenék, was not very far, which was also confirmed by the fact that we found a well-filled storage chamber. So it was decided that Ssemjón was to hurry there and fetch the people, while we went on to the vicinity of the Ssiligír mouth. It proved to be /127/ not very near, however, for we could not reach it until sunset and therefore had to stop above it.

V The next morning Ssemjón appeared in the company of a
●[554] Jakuten /Yakut/, Nikolai Boldonó, whose appearance, though
[291] certainly not magnificent, showed that he was to be counted
[437] as one of the wealthier ones. Namely, he had on a cotton shirt and a flowered scarf around his neck, whereas all the other Tungus and Jakuten whom we had seen so far along the Olenék, even the earlier Nikolai, were dressed in leather and skins throughout, a sign that they seldom or never have an opportunity to come in contact with traders or cannot afford their
V prices. Later we learned that the imported dabá (a cotton ma-
[437] terial usually dyed dark blue) is not too expensive, comparatively

/184 cont./

224 caught in traps, but is also dug out of its den, as we ourselves had
[435] an opportunity to observe on our return journey. The price of a good skin here yields on the average about a ruble, but many different kinds are distinguished according to quality, and the poorer ones are valued at only half a ruble; the winter pelts are, of course, the best. The highly prized blue variety of the arctic fox seems
[651] to be practically unknown here. The crown tax as well as the goods purchased from the merchants are paid for with the skins of the arctic fox.

[543] Around Easter a kind of annual fair is held here, at which appear both the inhabitants of the islands lying in front of the mouth of the Olenék and those from the nearest settlements of the forest region, in order /185/ to trade skins for the necessary commodities
[571] from the traders -- tobacco, tea, cloth, ironware, etc. Despite
[512] the inhospitable climate the people here seem to be well off and very content. Even during the dark months they go about their
[132] activities out in the open, especially fishing, and only about the time of the reappearance of the sun, around the Day of the Holy Three Kings (sixth of January, old style), when the most frightful snowstorms set in, do they shut themselves up completely -- often
342 for a couple of weeks -- in their dwellings. The latter are much
362 more solidly built than in the forest region, in order to offer suf-
313 ficient resistance against the force of the storms. The material for building as well as for heating consists of driftwood which is supplied by the river and even more by the ocean. Besides the
797 merchants, Boljkalák is also visited almost annually by a missionary, who holds services in the chapel here. Chitrow praises the devoutness of the people -- the outward signs of this did not remain unnoticed by us either.

● 554 On the day after our arrival the elder (stárosta) of the
292 Kangaláss Jakuten /Yakut/ appeared with fresh reindeer for the
123 return journey. He ranked higher than both the local elder and the one accompanying us and wore, as a mark of distinction, a sort of uniform, a yellowish gray cloth coat with red trimming
233 and a gold-embroidered belt with a short sword. The new reindeer, which had to be given a day of rest, and the previous ones

122 /190 cont./
123 a low box, usually in a half-reclining or crouching position, is very
[352] tiring after any length of time. In the yurts of our hospitable Jakut /Yakut/ friends we had occasionally found miniature tables from one to two feet high, which were placed beside the sleeping places, but here in Ssiktjach for the first time we again sat on chairs at a table covered with a clean cloth.

/191/ Ninth Chapter

100 The Jakut /Yakut/ dignitaries. -- We exchange gifts. -- Narten of persons of rank. -- Northward again! -- Kūssūr. -- The upráwa /uprava/ of the Shigansker Ulússes /Zhigansk ulus/. -- The clergyman from Bulún. -- The ivory trade. -- The population. -- Prohibition against liquor. -- Unselfishness of the upráwa. -- At the Arctic Ocean again. -- The Jakut stan. -- Astronomical observations with the mercury frozen. -- Dshejelák-Dshaná. -- Animal husbandry in the far north. -- The northern part of the Werchojansk /Verkhoyansk/ district.

122 During our stay in Ssiktjách /Siktyakh/, the notables of the
[123] entire district one by one honored us with their visits -- various
[554] elders in the uniform described above, and finally a former
[292] golowá of the entire ulússes /ulus/, a dignified old man in a much more elaborate uniform than the others. His belt consisted of a broad gold braid and on it hung two swords, one an emblem of his office, the other, with pretty silver decoration on the hilt, a gift of honor from the government. We now conferred with these dignitaries about our further journey. Upon our arrival we had planned to move on, after a short rest, in a southerly direction, if possible, following the course of the Lena, directly to Jakutsk /Yakutsk/, or, if this could not be done, to travel to Wiljuisk /Vilyuisk/, and had even entertained the bold idea of skirting Jakutsk in the latter case and hastening via Oljókminsk /Olekminsk/ as quickly as possible toward the longed-for south. At first we /192/ did not at all believe the assertions of our advisors that the execution of these travel plans

/193 cont./

122 iron stove, which we should no longer need in the yurts, as well
123 as our supplies and kitchen utensils, we presented to our friendly hostess, who could make good use of them. She also wanted to keep our dog Waltusch, but we could not bear to leave our faithful companion on two such difficult expeditions here in this climate obviously unfavorable to him and carried out our resolve to take him back to Irkutsk to his well-earned rest. He is now living out the rest of his days in quiet contemplation with a butcher there. According to the custom of the country, Mrs. Rjeschétnikow insisted on giving us a present in return and provided us with some fine fish for the trip. In addition, Czekanowsky received a Russian-style fur cap, the crown of which was made of dark fox
[291] paws and the brim of river beaver. I was given a Jakut /Yakut/ fur hood, likewise of fox paws and lined with squirrel skins, and a pair of huge mittens of the same kind of fur, beautifully embroidered at the wrists and provided with an opening through which
[171] one could put out one's hand without taking off the mitten. This extremely practical mitten is found /194/ throughout northern Siberia and is to be recommended to European soldiers and hunters.

493 During the cold season persons of rank here travel in com-
[484] pletely covered narten /Russ. narta, "sled"/, into which one crawls
[554] from the front and then, wrapped in soft and warm skins and covers, sleeps through the entire journey. They are so low that sitting up is impossible, and, of course, it is equally impossible to see anything of the region through which one passes -- reason enough for us to forgo this comfort and be content with our narten used up to now, equipped only with a kibitka.

122 On the afternoon of November 5 we took cordial leave of Mrs.
[132] Rjeschétnikow and drove off in a northerly direction, with a temperature of about -33° R., which during the night even dropped to -38° R. On the way we visited the family of our guide Atschkássow, with whom we exchanged a few presents, and on the evening of the following day reached some yurts which bear the name Kŭssŭr /Kyusyur/ and lie on the right shore of the river, diagonally across from the larger village of Bulún, the chief place on the lower Lena. We chose to stop here because our

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

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[171]
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Women's chestpiece embroidered with colored beads.

of tales called *ustuoruya* (from the Russian word "istoriya" or history), in which the heroes were Russian merchants, poor state-owned peasants, Ivan Tsarevich and other characters from Russian fairytales. Their plots are also close to those of the Russian tales. The historical legends tell of journeys to strange countries and the unusual adventures involved. Some of them are close in content to the legends of the Olenek Khosun epic.

Both in theme and in method of narration, the epic tales were very close to the Yakut olonkho and were even called by the same name. They often describe a way of life alien to the Dolgans; they mention horses and cows, but hardly ever mention reindeer. Their theme is the struggle between heroes and persons consorting with evil spirits. The dialogues, just as in the Yakut epic tales, were sung. Dolgan songs are either short (lyrical) or long. The former were not performed by professionals, and the composers and performers were usually boys and girls. The long songs were performed by highly gifted improvisers or "songsters," who were relatively few and far between.

The storytellers were regarded as the elite, chosen by the good deities and spirits. Gifted storytellers created their own schools and whole generations of young storytellers studied under them. According to the old beliefs of the Dolgans, all the images drawn by the storytellers could be turned into visible images or shadows. This belief in the ability of the storyteller to re-create real images by his words was exploited by the Dolgan shamans to make their methods of "curing" the sick more convincing. Sometimes, to determine which spirit the disease had come from, the shaman would send for a storyteller. The latter would begin telling an epic tale as dusk fell. As soon as the hero of the tale began to gain the upper hand over his adversary, the spirit which had allegedly been eating the patient began to emerge to help his brother spirit. As soon as he saw the evil spirit and knew what kind it was, the shaman cast a spell, now knowing what he had to do to cure the sick person. During heavy epidemics shamans often resorted to the help of the storytellers by asking them to spend evenings telling stories in which all the adventures of the heroes had a happy ending. Since it was considered that the images in the epic tales became visible, in the spring, when the geese arrived, no stories were recounted so that the images would not frighten the geese. To avoid frightening wild deer, stories were not told on the eve of the hunt.

[224]

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The Dolgans had no musical instruments. It was only at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries that the Yakut jew's-harp began to